

Message Text

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ACTION SS-25

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 SSO-00 NSCE-00 DODE-00 CIAE-00 INRE-00

ACDE-00 /026 W

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O P 121300Z APR 76

FM USDEL SALT TWO GENEVA

TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 3021

INFO USMISSION NATO PRIORITY

S E C R E T SECTION 1 OF 2 SALT TWO GENEVA 100

EXDIS/SALT

DEPT ALSO PASS DOD

SPECAT EXCLUSIVE FOR SECDEF

E.O. 11652: XGDS-1

TAGS: PARM

SUBJECT: DRAFT NAC STATEMENT FOR APRIL 15 CONSULTATION (SALT TWO-971)

REFS: SALT TWO-962, STATE 84210

1. FOLLOWING IS DRAFT TEXT OF PROPOSED STATEMENT TO NAC FOR MY APRIL 15 CONSULTATION THERE. REQUEST WASHINGTON CONCURRENCE AND/OR COMMENTS.

2. BEGIN TEXT:

DRAFT STATEMENT BY AMBASSADOR
JOHNSON NORTH ATLANTIC COUNCIL,
APRIL 15, 1976

1. I AM PLEASED ONCE AGAIN TO MEET WITH YOU TO CONTINUE OUR REGULAR CONSULTATIONS ON THE STRATEGIC ARMS LIMITATION TALKS. I WILL BRING YOU UP TO DATE ON OUR WORK IN GENEVA SINCE MY LAST BRIEFING HERE ON SEPT. 12. I AM ALSO PLEASED TO NOTE THAT IMMEDIATELY FOLLOWING THIS MEETING, THERE WILL BE AN EXPERT'S MEETING. THE US WILL BE REPRESENTED BY MR. RALPH EARLE II OF THE SALT DELEGATION,
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WHO IS WELL KNOWN TO MOST OF YOU.

2. AFTER THE VLADIVOSTOK MEETING IN NOV. 1974, WE WERE IN SESSION IN GENEVA APPROXIMATELY NINE MONTHS IN 1975. THIS YEAR WE HAVE BEEN MEETING CONTINUOUSLY SINCE JAN. 28, WITH OUR MANDATE CONTINUING TO BE TRANSLATE THE VLADIVOSTOK UNDERSTANDINGS INTO AN AGREED DOCUMENT FOR SIGNATURE BY BOTH GOVERNMENTS. OUR MEETINGS HAVE TAKEN PLACE AT SEVERAL LEVELS: FIRST, THERE HAVE BEEN PLENARY SESSIONS OF THE DELEGATIONS; SECOND, PRIVATE CHIEFS OF DELEGATION MEETINGS; AND THIRD, WORKING GROUP MEETINGS. RECENTLY THE NUMBER OF PLENARY SESSIONS HAS BEEN REDUCED TO APPROXIMATELY ONE A WEEK, WHILE THE NUMBER OF WORKING GROUP MEETINGS AND CHIEFS OF DELEGATION MEETINGS HAVE BEEN INCREASED. WHILE THE DEFINITIONS WORKING GROUP AND THE VERIFICATION WORKING GROUP HAVE NOT MET FOR SEVERAL MONTHS, THE DRAFTING WORKING GROUP HAS INCREASED THE PACE OF ITS ACTIVITIES ON A VARIETY OF ISSUES. THE DRAFTING WORKING GROUP NORMALLY MEETS TWICE A WEEK ON MATTERS WHICH HAVE ALREADY BEEN ADDRESSED IN PLENARY SESSIONS AS WELL AS IN PRIVATE MEETINGS BY MINISTER SEMENOV AND MYSELF.

3. AT MY LAST MEETING WITH THE COUNCIL HERE IN SEPTEMBER, I OUTLINED THE PRINCIPAL ELEMENTS OF THE POSITIONS OF THE UNITED STATES AND SOVIET UNION AS REFLECTED IN OUR WORK ON THE DRAFT TEXT OF THE AGREEMENT. I OUTLINED THE AREAS OF AGREEMENT AND DISAGREEMENT, AS WELL AS THE DIFFERENCES OF APPROACH OF THE TWO DELEGATIONS ON THE VARIOUS ISSUES. THIS MORNING I WANT TO OUTLINE THE PROGRESS MADE IN RESOLVING SOME OF THESE ISSUES AND IN DEFINING THE DIFFERENCES BETWEEN THE TWO SIDES ON OTHER ISSUES. OF COURSE, AS YOU KNOW, SOME OF THE OUTSTANDING ISSUES ARE BEING DISCUSSED DIRECTLY BETWEEN MOSCOW AND WASHINGTON. I KNOW THAT SECRETARY KISSINGER BRIEFED YOU FOLLOWING HIS VISIT TO MOSCOW IN JANUARY AND, AS COUNSELOR SONNENFELDT INFORMED YOU, WE HAVE RECENTLY RECEIVED A COMMUNICATION FROM MOSCOW WITH RESPECT TO THESE ISSUES. THESE EXCHANGES ARE FOCUSING, AMONG OTHER THINGS, ON TWO UNRESOLVED ISSUES-- CRUISE MISSILES AND BACKFIRE BOMBERS. TODAY I WILL CONCENTRATE MY REMARKS ON THOSE ISSUES BEING DISCUSSED IN GENEVA.

4. AT OUR LAST NEGOTIATING SESSION IN DECEMBER 1975, THE DELEGATIONS FORMALLY AGREED ON A BRACKETED VERSION OF A JOINT DRAFT TEXT, WHICH WE HAVE USED AS A BASIS FOR OUR WORK IN THE

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PRESENT SESSION. THIS TEXT DEALS WITH THE ISSUES WHICH I OUTLINED TO YOU IN SEPTEMBER WITH TWO EXCEPTIONS. FIRST, THE SOVIETS WITHDREW THEIR PROPOSAL TO LIMIT NEW TYPE (TRIDENT) SLBM LAUNCHERS TO 240. SECOND, THEY WENT ALONG WITH OUR CONCEPT THAT ALL THOSE PROVISIONS OF THE NEW AGREEMENT NOT INCONSISTENT WITH THE INTERIM AGREEMENT SHOULD ENTER INTO FORCE UPON EXCHANGE OF INSTRUMENTS OF RATIFICATION PRIOR TO OCTOBER, 1977. WHILE THE FORM OF A PROTOCOL TO ACCOMPLISH THIS HAS BEEN AGREED

UPON, THE SPECIFIC PROVISIONS TO BE INCLUDED WILL BE DECIDED
WHEN AGREEMENT IS REACHED ON THE CONTENT OF THE NEW AGREEMENT.

5. DURING OUR CURRENT SESSION WE HAVE MADE PROGRESS IN THREE
AREAS WHICH, AS YOU KNOW, HAVE LONG BEEN OF CONCERN TO THE US:
FIRST, DEFINING A HEAVY ICBM IN TERMS OF THROW-WEIGHT (IN
OTHER WORDS, A THROW-WEIGHT LIMITATION ON WHAT WE CALL A NON-
HEAVY ICBM AND WHAT THEY CALL A LIGHT ICBM); SECOND, PUTTING
A CEILING ON THE THROW-WEIGHT OF HEAVY ICBMS; AND THIRD,
MAKING MORE EXPLICIT THE PROVISIONS OF THE INTERIM AGREEMENT
ON THE ENLARGEMENT OF SILO LAUNCHERS. WITH REGARD TO THE
FIRST ISSUE, THAT IS, THE DEFINITION OF HEAVY ICBMS, WE HAVE
AGREED THAT A HEAVY ICBM IS, IN EFFECT, AN ICBM HAVING EITHER
A LAUNCH-WEIGHT OR A THROW-WEIGHT GREATER THAN THAT OF THE
SOVIET SS-19. ON THE SECOND ISSUE, THAT IS, PUTTING A CEILING
ON THE SIZE OF THE HEAVY ICBM, WE HAVE PROPOSED THAT THE LAUNCH-
WEIGHT AND THROW-WEIGHT OF HEAVY ICBMS NOT EXCEED THOSE OF
EXISTING SOVIET HEAVY ICBMS. WHILE THE SOVIETS HAVE INDICATED
A WILLINGNESS TO DISCUSS THIS PROPOSAL, IT HAS NOT YET BEEN
TAKEN UP IN DETAIL. IN CONNECTION WITH THESE PROPOSALS, WE
HAVE REACHED AGREEMENT ON THE DEFINITION OF LAUNCH-WEIGHT
AND ARE WORKING TOWARD MUTUALLY ACCEPTABLE LANGUAGE FOR
THE DEFINITION OF THROW-WEIGHT. WITH RESPECT TO THE THIRD
ISSUE, SILO DIMENSIONS, THE DELEGATIONS HAVE AGREED THAT
THE ORIGINAL INTERNAL VOLUME OF A SILO WILL NOT BE INCREASED
BY MORE THAN 32 PERCENT.

6. SOME PROGRESS HAS ALSO BEEN MADE ON OTHER DEFINITIONS
TO BE INCORPORATED IN THE NEW AGREEMENT DESPITE THE DIFFERING
APPROACHES TO MANY OF THESE DEFINITIONS: THE US EMPHASIZING
CAPABILITY AND THE SOVIETS STRESSING INTENT. WITH RESPECT TO
THE DEFINITION OF AN ICBM LAUNCHER, WE SEEM TO BE WORKING OUR
WAY SLOWLY TOWARD A MUTUALLY ACCEPTABLE FORMULA. IN THIS
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CONNECTION, THE SOVIETS HAVE PROPOSED A BAN ON CONVERTING
LAUNCHERS OF MRBMS OR IRBMS TO LAUNCHERS OF ICBMS.

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O P 121300Z APR 76

FM USDEL SALT TWO GENEVA

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THE SIDES APPEAR TO BE IN GENERAL AGREEMENT WITH RESPECT TO AN SLBM LAUNCHER DEFINITION. WITH RESPECT TO THE DEFINITION OF MIRVS, BOTH SIDES AGREE THAT AN OBJECTIVE IS TO DISTINGUISH MRVS FROM MIRVS, AND WE ARE CLOSE TO AGREEMENT ON LANGUAGE WHICH WOULD ACCOMPLISH THIS PURPOSE. IN ADDITION TO THE BACKFIRE ISSUE, OTHER IMPORTANT DIFFERENCES REMAIN WITH RESPECT TO THE HEAVY BOMBER DEFINITION. THE US POSITION IS THAT ALL AIRCRAFT OF HEAVY BOMBER TYPES, SUCH AS THE BISON, SHOULD BE INCLUDED IN THE AGGREGATE, WHETHER AT ANY GIVEN TIME CONFIGURED FOR WEAPONS DELIVERY OR SOME OTHER PURPOSE SUCH AS AIR REFUELING. THE SOVIET POSITION IS THAT SUCH AIRCRAFT WOULD ONLY BE INCLUDED IN THE AGGREGATE IF THEY ARE "BOMB OR AIR-TO-SURFACE MISSILE DELIVERY AIRCRAFT."

7. WE HAVE RECENTLY PRESENTED TO THE SOVIETS A REFORMULATION OF OUR PROPOSAL ON VERIFYING MIRV DEPLOYMENTS. WHILE THIS REFORMULATION INVOLVES SOME CONSOLIDATION AND SIMPLIFICATION OF OUR PREVIOUS PROPOSAL, IT DOES NOT MATERIALLY CHANGE ITS SUBSTANCE. THE PROPOSAL INVOLVES CONSIDERING AS MIRVED ANY MISSILE OF A TYPE WHICH HAS BEEN TESTED WITH MIRVS AND INCLUDING IN THE 1320 AGGREGATE ANY LAUNCHER OF A TYPE WHICH HAS CONTAINED
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OR LAUNCHED SUCH A MISSILE. TO ATTEMPT TO AVOID FUTURE MIS-UNDERSTANDINGS THE US HAS ALSO PROPOSED THAT THE SIDES AGREE ON WHICH OF THE CURRENT ICBM AND SLBM LAUNCHERS POSSESSED BY EACH SIDE ARE EQUIPPED WITH MIRVS. ALTHOUGH THE SOVIETS HAVE CONTINUED TO MAINTAIN THAT THERE IS NO NEED FOR ANY SPECIAL PROVISIONS FOR MIRV VERIFICATION, THEY HAVE, AT OUR RECENT MEETINGS, ENTERED INTO SOME DISCUSSIONS ON OUR PROPOSAL.

8. ON THE SUBJECT OF VERIFICATION BY NATIONAL TECHNICAL MEANS, THE US HAS SOUGHT UNDERSTANDING ON WHAT IS SPECIFICALLY MEANT BY THE BAN ON WHAT THE TEXT OF THE AGREEMENT CALLS "DELIBERATE CONCEALMENT MEASURES." ALTHOUGH THERE HAS BEEN MUCH DISCUSSION ON THIS POINT, THERE HAS NOT YET BEEN A FULL MEETING OF THE MINDS.

9. SINCE SEPTEMBER, WE HAVE REACHED AGREEMENT ON PROVISIONS WHICH EXCLUDE TEST AND TRAINING LAUNCHERS FROM THE 2400 AGGREGATE AND PROVIDE SEPARATE LIMITS ON THEM. IT HAS BEEN AGREED NOT TO INCREASE THE NUMBER OF SUCH LAUNCHERS BY MORE THAN 15 PERCENT AND THAT NEITHER TEST AND TRAINING NOR SPACE LAUNCHERS MAY BE CONVERTED TO LAUNCHERS SUBJECT TO THE 2400 AGGREGATE. IN ORDER TO HELP AVOID MISUNDERSTANDINGS, THE UNITED STATES HAS PROPOSED ALSO THAT EACH SIDE DESIGNATE ITS TEST RANGES; SO FAR, THE USSR DELEGATION HAS NOT ACCEPTED THIS PROPOSAL.

10. IN SEPTEMBER, I LISTED THOSE WEAPON SYSTEMS THAT BOTH SIDES HAVE AGREED TO BAN IN THE NEW AGREEMENT. YOU WILL RECALL THAT THIS LIST WAS COMPRISED OF LAND-BASED INTERCONTINENTAL CRUISE MISSILES; BALLISTIC MISSILES WITH A RANGE GREATER THAN 600 KMS ON WATERBORNE VEHICLES OTHER THAN SUBMARINES; ORBITING OR FRACTIONAL ORBITING WEAPONS OF MASS DESTRUCTION; AND BALLISTIC MISSILE LAUNCHERS ON THE OCEAN FLOOR. WE HAVE SUBSEQUENTLY AGREED TO THE SOVIET PROPOSAL TO BAN CRUISE MISSILE LAUNCHERS ON THE OCEAN FLOOR. THERE HAVE BEEN NO OTHER ADDITIONS TO THE LIST.

11. AT THE CURRENT SESSION THERE HAS BEEN CONSIDERABLE DISCUSSION AS TO WHEN THE SIDES MUST CONFORM TO THE AGGREGATE CEILINGS SPECIFIED IN THE AGREEMENT. THE UNITED STATES HAS MAINTAINED THAT THE NEW AGREEMENT BECOMES EFFECTIVE ON
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OCTOBER 3, 1977, AND THEREFORE THAT BOTH SIDES SHOULD BE WITHIN THE AGGREGATE CEILINGS AS OF THAT DATE. THE SOVIET UNION HAS TAKEN THE POSITION THAT BECAUSE THE INTERIM AGREEMENT RUNS THROUGH OCTOBER 2, 1977, EACH SIDE SHOULD BE ALLOWED A PERIOD OF TIME AFTER OCTOBER 3 IN WHICH TO DISMANTLE OR DESTROY ANY EXCESS SYSTEMS. THEY PROPOSED A PERIOD OF 10 MONTHS. IN AN EFFORT TO RESOLVE THIS QUESTION, THE US HAS PROPOSED THAT DISMANTLING OR DESTRUCTION OF EXCESS SYSTEMS SHOULD BEGIN NOT LATER THAN OCTOBER 3, 1977, AND SHOULD BE COMPLETED IN FROM THREE TO SIX MONTHS, DEPENDING ON THE TYPE OF SYSTEM INVOLVED. WE HAVE LINKED THIS PROPOSAL TO SOVIET ACCEPTANCE OF THE "DATA BASE" CONCEPT, WHICH I WILL OUTLINE NEXT.

12. IN ITS ORIGINAL DRAFT AGREEMENT THE US PROPOSED THAT

THERE BE A REGULAR AND PERIODIC EXCHANGE OF INFORMATION ON THE NUMBERS BY CATEGORY OF THE WEAPONS SUBJECT TO THE LIMITATIONS OF THE AGREEMENT AS WELL AS PRIOR NOTIFICATION OF ACTIVITIES WHICH WOULD RESULT IN CHANGES TO THESE NUMBERS. IN LIEU OF THIS PROPOSAL, THE US HAS NOW TABLED A PROPOSAL FOR WHAT WE CALL THE "DATA BASE." UNDER THIS PROPOSAL, THE SIDES WOULD REACH AGREEMENT ON THE NUMBERS OF STRATEGIC OFFENSIVE ARMS IN EACH CATEGORY POSSESSED BY EACH SIDE AS OF THE DATE OF SIGNATURE OF THE NEW AGREEMENT. CHANGES IN SUCH NUMBERS WOULD BE REPORTED TWICE A YEAR THROUGH THE STANDING CONSULTATIVE COMMISSION. THIS PROPOSAL DOES NOT REQUIRE ANY PRIOR NOTIFICATION ON FUTURE PLANS. THE SOVIET RESPONSE HAS BEEN THAT THIS PROPOSAL CALLS INTO QUESTION THE PRINCIPLE OF VERIFICATION OF COMPLIANCE BY NATIONAL TECHNICAL MEANS. WE HAVE REPLIED THAT WE DO NOT QUESTION THE PRINCIPLE OF VERIFICATION OF COMPLIANCE BY NATIONAL TECHNICAL MEANS, BUT THAT SUCH AGREEMENT ON NUMBERS BY CATEGORY WOULD PROVIDE ASSURANCE THAT THE SIDES ARE STARTING FROM THE SAME BASIS IN APPLYING THE DEFINITIONS AND OTHER TERMS OF THE AGREEMENT.

13. THE DELEGATIONS ARE AGREED IN SUBSTANCE THAT FOLLOW-ON NEGOTIATIONS WILL BEGIN AS SOON AS POSSIBLE AFTER ENTRY INTO FORCE OF THE NEW AGREEMENT, AND ALSO THAT A FOLLOW-ON AGREEMENT SHOULD BE CONCLUDED WELL IN ADVANCE OF THE EXPIRATION OF THE SALT TWO AGREEMENT.

14. THERE HAS BEEN NO CHANGE IN THE SOVIET PROPOSALS ON
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NON-TRANSFER AND NON-CIRCUMVENTION WHICH I DESCRIBED IN SEPTEMBER. THE SOVIETS PERIODICALLY BRING UP THESE ISSUES, AND ALSO REPEAT THAT THEY INTEND TO RAISE FBS AND NUCLEAR WEAPONS IN THIRD COUNTRIES ISSUES IN FOLLOW-ON NEGOTIATIONS. FOR OUR PART, WE HAVE CONTINUED TO REFUSE TO DISCUSS NON-TRANSFER UNTIL OTHER ELEMENTS OF THE AGREEMENT HAVE BEEN DECIDED. WE HAVE ALSO CONTINUED TO MAKE CLEAR THAT THE TOPICS OF FORWARD-BASED SYSTEMS AND NUCLEAR WEAPONS IN THIRD COUNTRIES ARE NOT APPROPRIATE FOR CONSIDERATION IN THESE NEGOTIATIONS. AS I SAID IN SEPTEMBER, SHOULD WE DECIDE IT MAY BE DESIRABLE TO TABLE LANGUAGE ON EITHER NON-TRANSFER OR NON-CIRCUMVENTION, WE WOULD CONSULT WITH OUR ALLIES IN ADVANCE.

15. THIS CONCLUDES MY FORMAL PRESENTATION AND I WILL BE GLAD TO ANSWER ANY QUESTIONS YOU MAY HAVE. END TEST. JOHNSON

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